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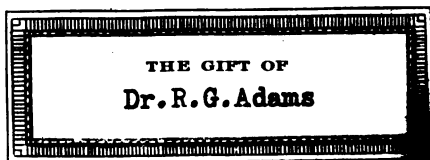
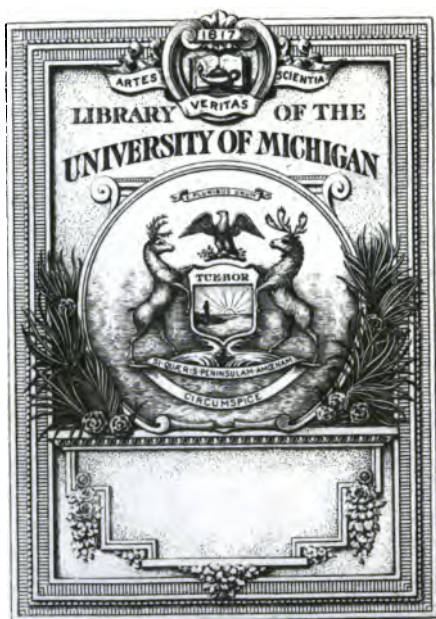
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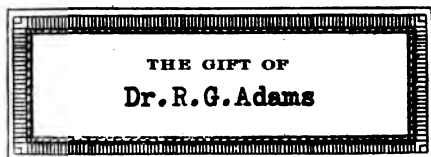
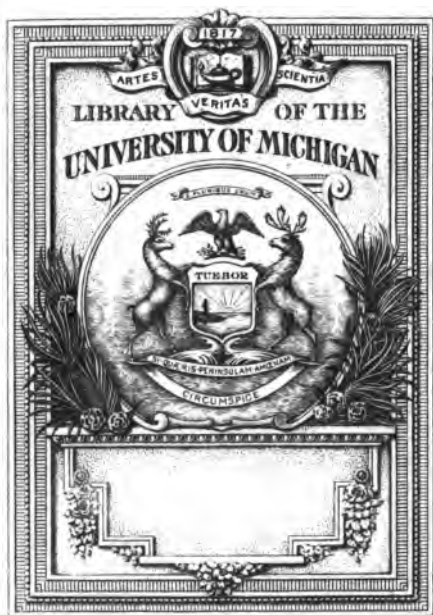
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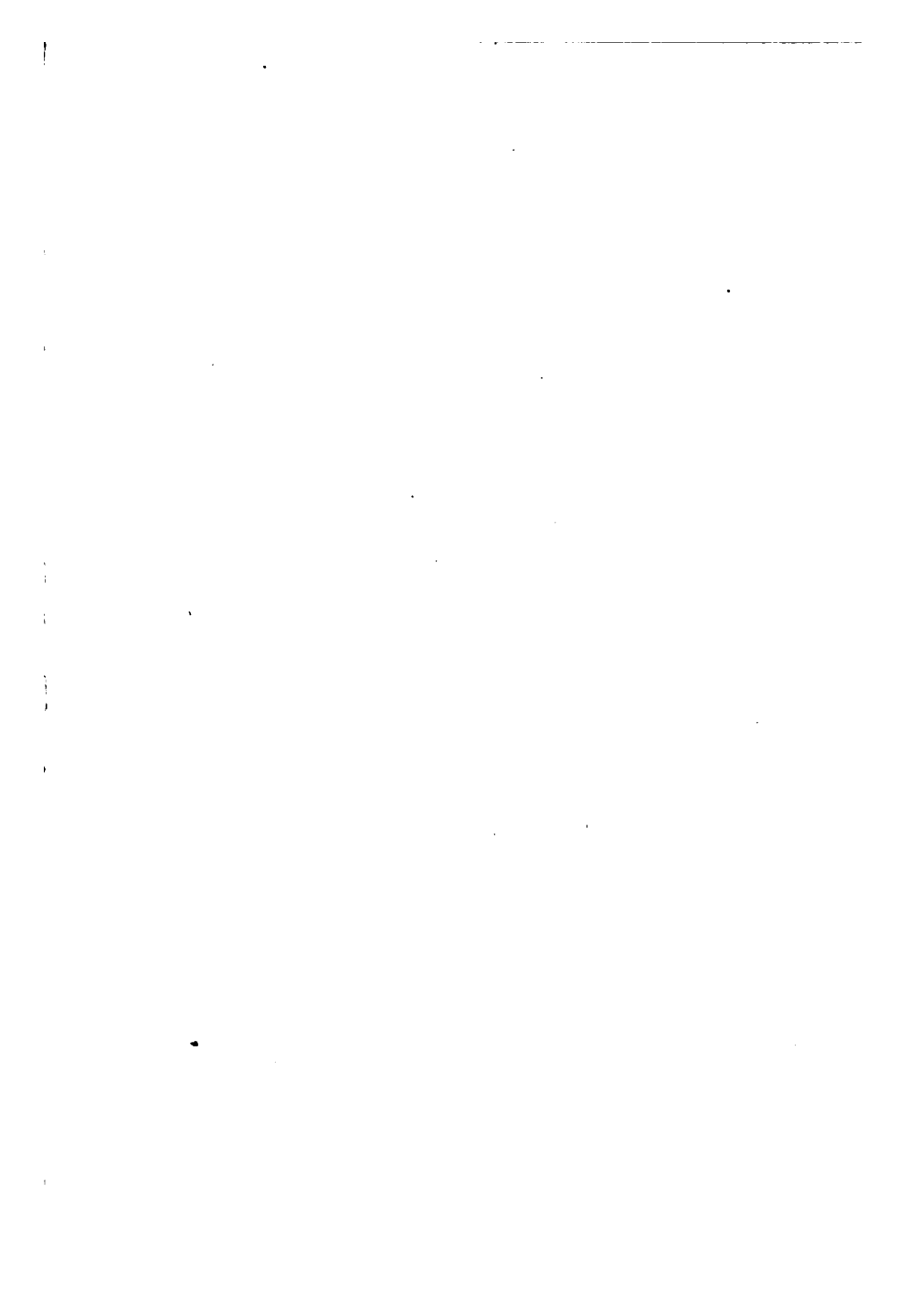
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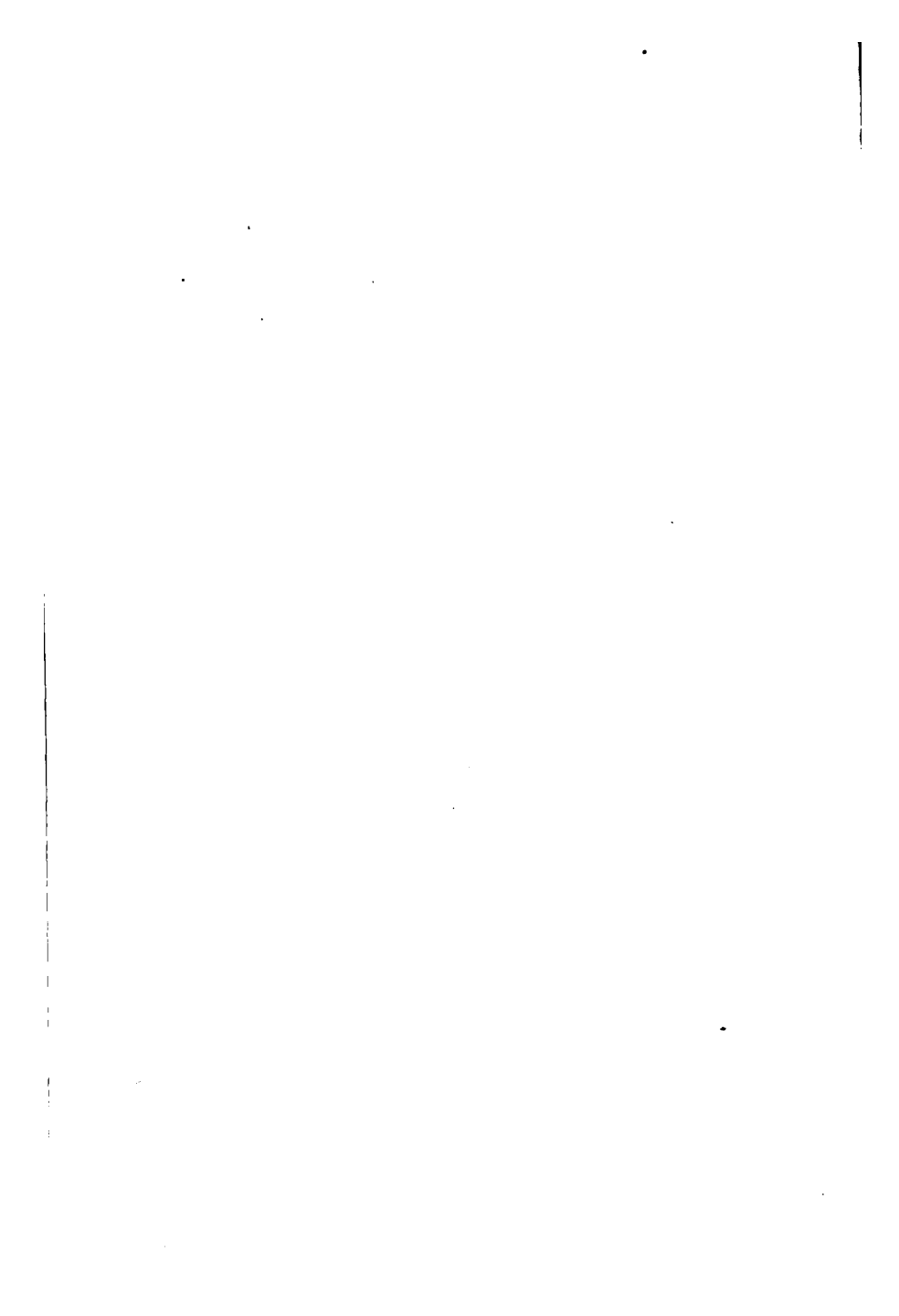
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JAMES KENNEDY,

BISHOP OF ST. ANDREWS: 6c<sup>4</sup>

HIS

CHURCH, TOMB, AND MACE,

BY WALTER COUTTS.



W. C. HENDERSON & SON,  
ST. ANDREWS,  
1901.

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St. Andrew's



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5-10-1924

In placing this brief sketch of the life and work of Bishop Kennedy before the public, I take the opportunity of conveying my most sincere thanks to Professor Knight, for much valuable help and encouragement; and to Miss Helen S. Ogilvy, M.A., Dundee, for the photographs of the Church and Monument, from which the illustrations have been prepared.

W. COUTTS.

## Preface.

I have carefully examined, and revised, Mr. Coutts' monograph on Bishop Kennedy, his Church, Tomb, and Monuments (the preparation of which I have urged upon him for many years); and I gladly call the attention of all who are interested in our City's History—more especially in its Pre-Reformation period—to this little book, and to the interpretation which it gives of the symbolism of the Tomb and the Mace. Mr. Coutts has studied these with special care; and he has given an explanation of the two structures which seems to me quite new, extremely interesting, and correct in almost every point of detail. His guide-book should be of great use—suggestive to the archæologist, and helpful to the ordinary visitor.

The Rev. John Ferguson, of Aberdalgie, Perth, has sent me an interesting letter in reference to Bishop Kennedy, enclosing an extract from the seventh volume of the *Annales Ordinis Cartusiensis*, auctore, Dom. Carlo Le Conteulx, Cartusiano.

The extract is so important, and so little known, that I think it should be transcribed, and printed in full.

It is as follows:—"Hinc Principes ac Nobiles pietate erga Ordinem affecti, magnis ac multis beneficiis hunc tenerem Cartusiensium Stirpem fovere cœperunt. Jacobus Kennedy, S. Andreae episcopus, in cujus diocesi posita erat Cartusia, sororis Jacobi Regis filius non solum confirmavit, sed sua libertate multum auxit, quamobrem tricenario per totum Ordinem post mortem donatus est, per Chartam anni 1466, quo circa Julium obisse a quibusdam autoribus dicitur. Sed cum Capitulum generale eodem anno, mense Mais, celebratum sit, hinc colligimus tempus mortis ejus ad annum superiorem revocandum esse."

These Annals of the Carthusian Order are most valuable. They shew that Bishop Kennedy had a warm interest in its House at Perth. This could hardly be altogether due to the fact that he was a nephew of the founder of the Monastery, King James I. He was evidently a man whose ambitions in life were not guided by mere family feeling. He was profoundly interested in the religious condition of his countrymen; and he felt no doubt (as his uncle did) the value of having a Monastery, the inmates of which set an example of fidelity to a high, and even a rigid, rule. The conditions of the time demanded it. Two Popes—Alexander the IV., and Pius the II.—said of the Carthusian Order, in formal Bulls, "Cartusia nunquam reformata, quia nunquam deformata."

It was doubtless because of the high character of the Order that King James founded a House of <sup>of</sup> <sub>156</sub>

Carthusians at Perth. It was for the same reason, probably, that Bishop Kennedy supported them ; as he is said to have done. See the "multum auxit," in the extract from the *Annales*.

There is no doubt that the memory of the Bishop was kept alive in the whole Order by his good deeds, both at St. Andrews and Perth ; and the intimate relations which existed between him and the Carthusian Order testify, in a remarkable manner, to the goodness of heart, the wisdom, the practical insight, and the genuine piety of this illustrious statesman and ecclesiastic. Kennedy was "a great man," in the best sense of the term. Although for him "the times were out of joint," alike in Church and State, he faced his difficulties with a manly courage, a clear mind, and sincerest piety. His ideals were greater than his achievements. He certainly did not succeed in all he aimed after, but that was very much because he was so far in advance of his age ; and there were few of his contemporaries in whose minds his great ideas could take root, and develop while he lived. His efforts, however, did not end with his life. They bore rich after-fruit ; and happy has it been for the University of St. Andrews that its St. Salvators College had such a founder as James Kennedy.

It would be extremely interesting to know the details of his services to the Carthusian House in Perth. He doubtless helped it by gifts of money, for he was rich. He would know that what he gave

would be well spent by the Order, and made the most of for useful ends. The Prior of the House, when Kennedy was made Bishop of Dunkeld, was a Scotsman. He came from a Monastery in the Department of Gard, in France—a man of simple and sincere piety—with whom Bishop Kennedy would doubtless have many a friendly and pleasant talk. Most of the monks at the time were foreigners, chiefly from Flanders ; and Kennedy's advice in all practical matters would be as eagerly sought, as it would be cordially given.

Mr. Ferguson tells me that he has visited the Monastery at Gard, which is about five or six miles from Pont Saint Esprit, on the Rhone. He wished not only to see the place, but also to ascertain whether a Breviary was still there, which the Prior had taken with him to Perth ; and which his successor was ordered to send back, or to pay fifteen florins ! As florins would not be too plentiful in a new Carthusian House at that time, he thought the Breviary would be returned to France, and not the money ! But he did not find it. If it was returned, it may have perished in one or other of the contests between the Monastery and the Protestants of the Cevennes, or at the Revolution.

Mr. Ferguson had a most pleasant reception from the Prior, who is one who proves what a charming personality an educated and religious Frenchman is. He got information about a member of the Order, who was made Prior of the Perth House, but who died before setting out to come to Scotland. His

successor at Perth was a native of Flanders. Having been a Cistercian before he became a Carthusian, he introduced some relaxations into the rigid rules of the latter Order. This led to a time of difficulty and division; when, doubtless, Bishop Kennedy's friendly help and sympathy would be sought for, obtained, and much valued.

It is possible that when Mr. Coutts' booklet, on the great Bishop's Church and Tomb and Mace, is read—as it doubtless will be—by those most interested in the Religious Houses of the Middle Age of Ecclesiastical European History, some recluse scholar-priest, or some custodian of venerable relics, may be able to cast fresh light on the life and times of the great and good Bishop Kennedy, on his work as a whole, and on what he initiated for Scotland, but left to others to develop in detail.

WILLIAM KNIGHT.

# JAMES KENNEDY.

BISHOP OF ST. ANDREWS:

HIS CHURCH, TOMB, AND MACE.



JAMES KENNEDY was the second son of Sir James Kennedy of Dunure, in Ayrshire, and a grandson of King Robert the III. Little has been recorded of his early life beyond the fact that he was educated for the Church, and, while still a young man, was appointed in 1438 to the See of Dunkeld.<sup>1</sup> On the death of Bishop Wardlaw in 1440, he was elected, by the unanimous consent of all parties, to fill the position of Primate of the Scottish Church.

The two years spent at Dunkeld had been occupied in unceasing effort to reform some of the more flagrant abuses which had crept into the Church, and the Bishop entered on his more extended field of labour with a thorough knowledge of the great work which

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1. Spotswood's History of the Church of Scotland, page 100.

lay before him. The Reformation—begun among the mountains of Perthshire—was continued with even greater zeal at St. Andrews, and its effect became in a short time more apparent.

From one end of the Kingdom to the other a general improvement became noticeable in the lives of Churchmen. The parish priest, who formerly spent the greater part of his time in indolence, if not in debauchery—neglecting almost every duty except that of exacting from his poor parishioners the means of maintaining himself in ease and luxury—ceased to be oppressive; or, if oppression was still practised, it was in a modified form, when compared with the former exactions.

This improvement was to a great extent brought about through the Bishop. Notwithstanding his many and onerous duties, he found time to make periodical visits to every parish within his Diocese, preaching the gospel to the poor, and exhorting his Clergy to be faithful in the discharge of their duties.

Under his wise and tolerant but firm administration, the spirit of bigotry, which during the Episcopate of Wardlaw had consigned Resby and Crawar to the flames, became weakened; while the heresy for which they suffered ceased to be regarded as a crime. At least we find no record of any proceedings being taken against the professors of the "New Faith" for more than half a century after Kennedy's accession, and, by the unanimous testimony of all writers, the Church enjoyed a measure of prosperity and contentment to which it had for long years been a stranger.

The state of affairs is thus noticed by Archbishop Spotswood in his History of the Church:—"He"

(the Bishop) "did put all things in such order as no man then living did remember to have seen the Church in so good an estate, for partly by his own ensample and partly by the strict observance of discipline he induced them to live as became men of their profession." <sup>2</sup> But it was not in the Church alone that Bishop Kennedy made his influence felt. As a statesman he was the ablest of his time, and one of the greatest his country has produced. It was unfortunate for him, or shall we rather say it was fortunate for Scotland, that his lot was cast in times of intrigue, ambition, and plotting on the part of the nobility and greater barons; the record of which forms one of the darkest of the many dark pages in our Nation's history.

Only a short time before his elevation to the See of Dunkeld, the chivalrous James I. had closed a brilliant if somewhat autocratic reign by the hand of the assassin, leaving as his successor a child a few years old; and—notwithstanding the horrid nature of the crime, and that a terrible (in fact inhuman) vengeance had speedily overtaken the chief conspirators—it seems all but certain that there was a considerable number of the nobility and greater barons who contemplated the act by which His Majesty was removed with secret satisfaction, and were ready to exert themselves for the purpose of recovering those privileges which had been wrested from them by the deceased Monarch.

In 1440, the year in which Kennedy was raised to the Primacy, a meeting of Parliament was held at

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2. Spotswood's History of the Church of Scotland, page 57.

Stirling, for the purpose of taking into consideration the disturbed state of the Kingdom.<sup>3</sup> Murder, and robbery of the most brutal description, were of almost daily occurrence, and often carried out under the very eyes of the officers of the law; who, instead of punishing the offenders, were in many instances the instigators of, if not the actors in, the crimes.

The following picture of the state of the Country, drawn by Lindsay of Pitscottie, appears—from the testimony of other writers—to be nowise exaggerated. “Many and innumerable complaints were given in, whereof the like were never seen before. There were so many widows, bairns, and infants seeking redress for their husbands, kindred, and friends that were cruelly slain by wicked bloody murderers, sicklike many for herschip, theft, and reif, that there was no man but he would have ruth and pity to hear the same; shortly, murder, theft, and slaughter were come in such dalliance among the people that the King’s Acts had fallen into such contempt that no man wist where to seek refuge, unless he had sworn himself a servant to some bloody tyrant to maintain him contrary to the invasion of others, or else had given largely of his gear to save his life and afford him peace and rest.”<sup>4</sup>

This condition, deplorable as it is, was in a great measure due to the plotting and counter plotting of those at the head of the Government. On the one hand was Livingston and Crichton, the Governor and Chancellor, eyeing each other with distrust and each

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3. Acts of the Scots Parliament, vol. 2, page 32.

4. Cronicles of Scotland. Lindsay of Pitscottie. Vol. 1, page 35.

trying to supplant the other at Court ; while both were jealous as well as apprehensive of the great and increasing power of the House of Douglas. On the other hand, the head of that ancient family, proud and ambitious, keenly alive to their every movement, was waiting and watching for a favourable opportunity to crush the power of both, and that of the Crown at the same time.

On Crichton being disgraced and deprived of the Chancellorship in 1444, Kennedy is said to have been elected to the vacant office, but this statement appears to be doubtful ; at least it is doubtful if he ever *held* the position. He had probably realised that he could be of more service to his youthful Sovereign, and his Country, if untrammelled by State employment.

Aware that the recently formed alliance between Douglas and Livingston had for its object the subversion of the authority of the Crown, and that Livingston was little better than a tool in the hands of his more powerful companion, Kennedy concluded that the only way of defeating their scheme was to form an alliance with Crichton, and he at once placed his great influence in the scale in favour of the Ex-Chancellor.<sup>5</sup> This measure brought down upon him the vengeance of the haughty Douglas, and his confederates, who formed—and rigorously carried out—the design of laying waste the Church Lands belonging to the See of St. Andrews both in Fife and Angus.<sup>6</sup>

The work of spoliation was intrusted to the Earl of Crawford, one of the most powerful barons in the

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5. History of Scotland. Tytler. Vol. 2, page 138.

6. *Ib.*, vol. 2, page 139.

north, Alexander Ogilvy, Lord Hamilton, Livingston, the Governor of Stirling castle, and the highland freebooter Reoch. These rebels carried out their instructions with the greatest barbarity. The whole of the lands were overrun and plundered, and a large number of the vassals and tenants of the See either murdered or carried away captive, their captors driving them onward like cattle, after having consigned their homesteads to the flames.

The Bishop retaliated with his own weapons, and cited Crawford before the Church Court, but without success. The Earl treated the citation with contempt, and Kennedy, failing to obtain any redress, solemnly repaired to the High Altar of his Cathedral Church, and there with "myter and staf, buke and candill," laid the offenders under the "ban" of the Church.<sup>7</sup>

Crawford treated his ex-communication much in the same way in which he had treated the Bishop's citation; nor did he at any time, or in any way, attempt to appease the wrath of the injured Prelate, or to make any restitution of his unlawful spoil. But fate dogged the footsteps of the spoiler, and within a year the sentence of ex-communication was recalled over the dead body of the Earl, he having died of a wound received at the battle of Arbroath.<sup>8</sup>

In 1446, Bishop Kennedy made a journey to Rome, for the purpose of assisting in composing the differences by which the Church throughout Christendom was divided; but the disease was too deeply rooted to be easily removed, and after a stay of a few months—during which time he experienced the special

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7. Auchinlick Chronicle, page 38.

8. *Ib.*, page 38.

avour of the Pope—he returned to St. Andrews and with renewed vigour resumed his labours on behalf of his King and country.<sup>9</sup>

The league formed by the Earls of Douglas, Crawford, and Ross became the one great object of his statescraft, and he bent all his energy towards breaking up the conspiracy or rendering it ineffective.

Excepting the Ex-Chancellor there was hardly a baron of any note who was not in one way or other compelled to support the Governor or his confederates; and, had Kennedy been less of a patriot, he must have been dismayed at the dangers and difficulties by which he was surrounded. It is impossible, even taking into account all the circumstances of the case, to justify the method by which the first real blow was struck at the confederacy; but there is no evidence whereon to ground even a supposition that the Bishop was in any way responsible for the unfortunate scene at Stirling Castle, when the ill-fated Douglas fell, peirced by the dagger of the enraged King; nor is there any reason for supposing that the blow was premeditated by James himself. Probably no one was more grieved at the event than Kennedy, for, in place of tending to remove the difficulties by which the Crown was surrounded, it increased the trouble, threw the country into a worse condition than it was before, and taxed to their utmost extent his resources to keep the tottering Throne from falling. From one end of the Kingdom to the other the act was condemned, more especially by the members of the alliance, and Crawford summoned his numerous

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9. History of Scotland. Tytler. Vol. 2, page 196.

vassals and retainers for the purpose of avenging the "foul deed."<sup>10</sup>

Learning that the Earl of Huntly was marching south at the head of a large body of loyal Gordons to assist the King, Crawford determined to intercept him and thus strike a blow at the Crown. With this purpose in view he hurried north, evidently intent on guarding the passage of the North Esk at the Kings' Ford. Huntly, however, had succeeded in crossing the river before the rebels arrived, and Crawford drew up his forces on the summit of the adjoining hill. Notwithstanding the advantage of his position, Crawford was defeated, chiefly owing to the action of one of his officers—Coless of Balnamoon—deserting to the enemy along with three hundred of the best armed troops in the rebel army. The Earl sought safety in his stronghold of Finavon and his defeat practically put an end to the conspiracy and led to the placing of the young King securely upon the Throne. With the improved condition of the country, Kennedy obtained a temporary respite from his political labours, but it was brief. The death of the Monarch, for whom he had done so much, at Roxburgh in 1460, once more placed the responsibility of governing the Kingdom upon his shoulders, and once again did his sagacity and wisdom save his countrymen from many of the evils incident to the reign of an infant Sovereign.<sup>11</sup>

To his own city of St. Andrews Bishop Kennedy was more than a liberal benefactor. All its interests—educational, religious, and commercial—obtained a

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10. History of Scotland. Tytler. Vol. 2, page 158.

11. History of Scotland. Hume Brown. Page 256.

share of his attention and liberal patronage, of which he left three great monuments. The first was St. Salvator's College. The second was a monastery for Grey Friars, which he founded and endowed at the west end of Market Street ; the name is still preserved in "Greyfriars Garden " but all trace of the Monastery has disappeared except the Monks' Well. The third monument took the form of a magnificent ship, also named the St. Salvator, more often the Bishop's Barge, believed to have been one of the finest vessels of its time. It was unfortunately wrecked and plundered, on the English coast, in 1472.

To the University, the Bishop, like his predecessor Bishop Wardlaw, was a liberal and steadfast friend ; and it was wholly due to his untiring exertions on their behalf that its members retained unimpaired their numerous liberties and privileges conferred upon them by the charters of foundation.

Since 1411 an entirely new condition of things had arisen among the citizens, not only of St. Andrews but of every Royal Burgh in Scotland. From being practically serfs, the craftsmen had—through the unintentional legislation of the second Parliament of James I. at Perth—with the intention of making them more useful to the upper classes, conferred certain privileges upon them, and raised them to a position of independence.<sup>12</sup>

Each craft had become a distinct corporation, invested with power to frame laws for the regulation of its trade, and no sooner did the humble artisans read their patents than they conceived themselves important members of society. The King had

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12. Acts of Scots Parliament, vol. 2, page 8.

recognised them as worthy of the Royal protection, and given them a status. Such an accumulation of honours, coming all at once upon the oppressed craftsmen, gave them an importance far beyond what they had any title to assume. In fact, so intoxicated had they become with their newly acquired honours, that James found it necessary to withdraw them.<sup>13</sup> This had the effect of considerably cooling their ambition, and, after a short probation, their privileges were again restored. In no Burgh within the Kingdom did the craftsmen take their honours more seriously than in St. Andrews, and very soon differences arose between them and the members of the University. The academic community claimed privileges far in excess of what the craftsmen considered them entitled to, and in 1443 the differences had become so great that the peace of the city was threatened. Bishop Kennedy took the matter in hand, and, as Chancellor of the University, entered into an agreement with the craftsmen whereby he obtained for the academic community all the privileges they laid claim to.<sup>14</sup> It was beyond all question due to their veneration for the Bishop, rather than to any esteem they had for the University, that the citizens were so liberal.

After serving his King and Country with unswerving fidelity as Primate of the National Church for more than a quarter of a century, this truly great and good man died in the castle of St. Andrews in 1465, and was laid to rest amid the lamentations of the whole of the Scottish people in the tomb erected by himself within St. Salvators Church.

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13. Acts of Scots Parliament, vol. 2, page 13.

14. History of St. Andrews. Lyon. Vol. 2, page 231.

Buchanan, who had probably as little reverence for bishops as any historical writer this country has produced, thus notices his death:—"Not long after, James Kennedy died in full maturity, if we consider his years, but his death was so affecting to his country that all seemed to have lost a public parent. There was in him, besides the virtues already commemorated, the greatest frugality and plainness at home, combined with the greatest splendour and magnificence abroad. He exceeded in liberality all the bishops that had gone before and all who succeeded him, even to this day, although he possessed no great ecclesiastical revenue; for the practice had not then obtained in Scotland of heaping benefices upon the priests, that what was basely grasped by avarice might be more vilely spent in luxury. He left an illustrious monument of his munificence, the College of St. Andrews, built at great expense and handsomely endowed, but with incomes arising from the ecclesiastical revenues. There also he erected a magnificent tomb for himself, which yet the malignity of some envied, notwithstanding he had merited it so well, from many individuals by his private, and from all by his public virtues; they alleged that it displayed too much vanity erecting, at so great an expense, a thing for no use. Death increased the splendour of his worth and evinced his value, for after he who was the constant censor of morals was removed, public discipline began to decay by degrees, and, becoming corrupted, dragged nearly all that was virtuous along with it."<sup>15</sup>

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15. History of Scotland. Buchanan. Vol. 2, page 188.

Spotswood says that "His great worth appeared soon after his death, all things turning to confusion in Church and State."<sup>16</sup>

Tytler sums up his character at greater length. "In him the country lost the only statesman who possessed sufficient firmness, ability, and integrity to direct the councils of the Government. He was, indeed, in every respect a remarkable man, a pious and conscientious churchman, munificent, active, and discriminating in his charity, and whose religion, untinged with bigotry or superstition, was pure and practical. His zeal for the interests of literature and science was another prominent and admirable feature of his character, of which he left a noble monument in St. Salvators College, St. Andrews, founded by him in 1456 and richly endowed out of the ecclesiastical revenues . . . . . It appears that he had early devoted his attention to correct the manifold abuses which were daily increasing in the government of the Church, for which laudable purpose he twice visited Italy and obtained the favour of the Pope. Although in his public works—his endowment of churches and in everything connected with the pomp and ceremonial of the Catholic faith—he was unusually magnificent, yet in his own person and the expenditure of his private household he exhibited a rare union of purity, decorum, and frugality; nor could the sternest critics breathe a single aspersion against either his integrity as a minister of the State or his private character as a minister of religion."<sup>17</sup>

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16. History of the Church of Scotland. Spotswood. Page 58.

17. History of Scotland. Tytler. Vol. 2, page 196.

We do not know the reasons which actuated Bishop Kennedy in founding St. Salvators College, nor is there any likelihood of their ever being ascertained unless we can read them in the monuments he has left us.

The University had entered upon its fortieth year of work, and, so far as we know, it had fulfilled all the expectations of its founders. Its professors were among the most learned men of their time, careful and zealous in the discharge of their duties, for which they received little or no remuneration. The one great want of the institution was endowments. Its buildings were of the poorest description and not in any way adequate for carrying on its work. Under these circumstances it appears not a little remarkable that Kennedy—its Chancellor and Head, and who, as we have seen, was ever anxious about its welfare and the preservation of its privileges—should have founded and so liberally endowed within it another institution, placing its members in a position of luxury, while their brethren in the older foundation were struggling with poverty.

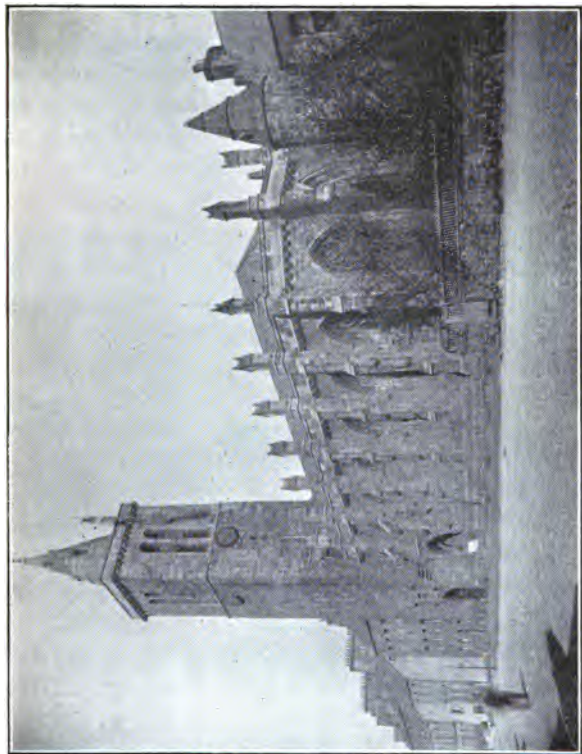
That the sympathies of the Bishop and those of the professors lay in different directions we can well believe. The constitution of the University was to a very large extent, if not wholly, moulded by Laurence Lindors, the bigoted prosecutor of both Resby and Crawar, and who has been described as the greatest enemy of his time to the professors of the "New Religion." It is therefore not unreasonable to suppose that his successors in office and their colleagues were to some extent animated by his example and spirit, while Kennedy appears to have had considerable

sympathy with the advocates of a Christianity founded on a wider basis than that of the Church of Rome, and, in the constitution of his new College, he gave evidence of being possessed of democratic principles altogether unknown before his time.

Prior to 1450 only the wealthy could take advantage of the benefits afforded by the University ; and although an academic education was much more easily obtained than in the days when it had to be sought for at the Universities of Oxford, Paris, or Bologna, still the younger sons of the nobles and greater barons possessed almost all the learning existent in the country, and filled almost every office of importance both in Church and State. But with the foundation of St. Salvators College, an entirely new era in the educational history of Scotland began.

The endowments derived from the teinds of four parishes—viz., Cults, Kemback, Dunino, and Kilmany,—provided for the apostolic number of persons, viz., a Principal, two Professors, four Regents, and six Students. Succession to all its offices was from within. A vacancy in the Principalship was filled by the senior Professor, the Regents became Professors, and the students in turn became Regents. Thus the avenues leading to every position, both in Church and State, were thrown open to the sons of the poor and they have never since been closed.

It is much to be regretted that so little of Bishop Kennedy's work remains to our time. Of his buildings there is nothing left for certain except the Church, and even it is only a mutilated fragment.



EXTERIOR OF ST. SALVATORS CHURCH.

It is more than three-quarters of a century since Dr. Thomas Chalmers pronounced the Church to be the finest specimen of Gothic architecture in Scotland, and his statement has been confirmed by many eminent architects since. Erected in 1450, it underwent considerable alterations eight years later.<sup>18</sup> Probably the niches in the tower and buttresses, excepting the two last on the south side, were inserted at that time, and filled with statues representing the twelve Apostles.

Of its internal arrangements we know almost nothing, but if we may judge from the following—translated from Martin's *Reliquiae*—everything must have been of an elaborate and costly nature:—"He furnished the College for use in religious services with chalices, goblets, saucers, ewers for washing, candle-sticks, an image of the Saviour about two cubits in length, censers, incense-boxes, crosses, and other vessels made of silver and gold; priests' stoles, capes, dalmatics, tunics, chasubles (or planets, a kind of garment used in religious services at this day cut away on both sides, only before and behind is it down to the feet) of thread of gold and silver, rough linen processional robes, bells, many sweet sounding hand bells; hangings of linen and tapestry for the adornment of the Church and public buildings. In a word, there was nothing inside, nothing outside, which did not display the great expense and splendour of the founder,

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18. MS. Records of the University.

according to the dignity and magnificence of his mind."<sup>19</sup>

The tower from the moulding over the clock upwards belongs to a later period, and was probably the work of Archbishop Hamilton.<sup>20</sup>

At, or very shortly after, the Reformation, the Church ceased to be used as a place of worship; and in 1563 the Crown, with the consent of the College, carried out certain alterations upon it, converting it into a courtroom for the use of the Commissioner of St. Andrews.<sup>21</sup> The figures appear to have been removed from the niches at the time of the Reformation but otherwise the Church received little damage. It remained with comparatively slight alteration till 1759, when it was again used for the purpose for which it had been erected.

19. Reliquiae Dive Andreae, page 234.

I am indebted to Mr. W. A. Cragie, M.A. for this translation:—

“The large bell, ‘Kate Kennedy,’ one of those gifted by the Bishop to the Church, still hangs in the tower. It bears the following inscription” :—

“SANCTUS IAC KENNEDUS EPISCOPUS STI ANDRAE  
AC FUNDATOR COLLEGII STI SALVATORIS ME  
FECIT FIERI ANNO 1460 KATHARINAM NOMIN-  
ANDO. D. IAC MARTINUS EIUSDEM COLLEGII  
PRAEPOSITUS ME REFECIT A.D. 1609. ET D.  
ALEXR SKENE EIUSDEM COLLEGII PRAEPOSITUS  
ME TERTIO FIERI FECIT. IOHN MEIKLE ME  
FECIT EDINBURGH ANNO 1686.”

20. Knox states that part of the guns used at the siege of St. Andrews Castle in 1547 were planted upon St. Salvators College, “and yet was the steeple thereof burnt.” Hist. of the Reformation, page 117.

Lindsay of Pitscottie describes the work done by “the cannons that were stelled upon the steiple headis.” Cronicle of Scotland, page 490.

21. MS. Records of the University.

The Colleges of St. Salvator and St. Leonards, having been united in 1747, a somewhat complicated state of things arose. The Principal of St. Leonards who became the first Principal of the United College, was also Minister of St. Leonards parish, the Church belonging to which was situated within the precincts of St. Leonards College, and at one time formed part of the College buildings. With the union of the Colleges the Minister lost his congregation, or at least the academic portion of it, and he ceased to have any ecclesiastical control over the students, they having to attend divine service in the Town Church as parishioners of St. Andrews. Very little effort appears to have been made to keep the Church of St. Leonards in repair, and by 1759 it had become so dilapidated as to be unfit for a place of worship. After some negotiations with the Kirk Session of St. Andrews and the Presbytery, it was agreed to abandon the old Church, and transfer the services to St. Salvators.

Over £400 was expended on making the alterations. The work was carried out under the direction of Mr. Paterson an eminent Edinburgh architect. The most regrettable feature of the alterations was the removal of the stained glass windows and tracery; their retention being contrary to the religious spirit of the times, large wooden frames filled with clear glass took their place.<sup>22</sup> The building was soon found to be ill adapted to the Presbyterian form of worship, on account of a peculiar echo whereby the speaker was very imperfectly heard. Many attempts were made to remove the defect, chiefly by means of sounding boards, but without result; and in

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22. MS. Records of the University.

1773 the Minutes of the College record, that everything hitherto tried to help the echo having failed, and the masters being apprehensive that the roof was in some danger of falling, they agreed to remove it, and put a wood roof in its place.<sup>23</sup>

This resolution was not arrived at without a good deal of trouble. The services of Mr. Paterson were again requested, but he made no reply to the master's communication. They then requested Mr. James Craig, famous as the architect for the ground plan of the New Town of Edinburgh, to prepare plans for the restoration of the old Church of St. Leonards, and also to examine and report upon the roof of St. Salvators. Both reports have been preserved, but unfortunately the latter, which recommended the removal of the arched roof, was adopted, to the everlasting regret of every lover of architectural beauty. £400 was again spent on the alterations, which included the erection of a gallery in the west end for the accommodation of the students.<sup>24</sup>

Tradition asserts that great difficulty was experienced in removing the roof, owing to its extraordinary stability; but there is little if any truth in the statement. In fact the whole of the outer covering—which consisted of heavy stone flags beautifully notched into each other—was lifted and relaid in 1759. The roof of the Sacristy, which occupied the two eastern bays on the north side of the Church, was removed; and the material used in making up what was deficient in the roof of the

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23. MS. Records of the University.

24. *Ib.*

Church, it being of the same construction.<sup>25</sup> The Sacristy was re-roofed shortly after, and used as the Court Room of the Commissioner of St. Andrews. It was taken down, and all trace of it lost, about the beginning of last century.

Little further change was made till 1814, when the Church again underwent considerable alterations. From that date no very material change took place till 1860, when the Crown, as custodian of the College buildings, undertook its restoration. The work was carried out by the Board of Works, and not only was the interior remodelled, the walls ground and plastered, and tracery introduced to the windows; but the exterior was considerably altered, by means of a parapet wall carried round both the Church and Tower, and ornamental finials placed over the buttresses.

Shortly afterwards, six stained glass windows were inserted; chiefly through the efforts of the late Principal Forbes. They are the work of the well-known glass stainers, Messrs. Hardman, of Birmingham. In 1870 a seventh window, the second from the door, was inserted by the Messrs. Ballantine, of Edinburgh; and, in 1886, the last and finest of the number was erected to the memory of the late Principal Shairp. The following description was prepared at the time of its erection:—"This Window, designed by Henry Holiday, A.R.A., has been prepared by Messrs. James Powell & Son, of the Whitefriars Glass Works. The subject of the design is taken from the words of Scripture in 2 Peter,

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25. MS. Records of the University.



INTERIOR OF ST. SALVATORS CHURCH.



crown of the arch, is Charity with children at her knees. The remaining interspaces are filled with decorative foliage and gothic canopies surmounted by Angels. Under the principal figures are the words:—

VIRTUS. FIDES. SCIENTIA.

Sufficient room has been reserved at the foot for the inscription, which runs as follows, commencing from the centre:—

JOANNI CAMPBELL SHAIRP:

QUI HUC COLLEGIO PRÆFUIT: MDCCCLXVIII—MDCCCLXXXV."

The second window from the entrance was a gift from Lord Colonsay. The subjects represent:—1st, The Judgment of Soloman; 2nd, Christ delivering the Sermon on the Mount; 3rd, Moses laying down the Law.

The third is to the memory of Mrs. Jessie Playfair, mother of the late Baron Playfair; the subjects are:—1st, Joseph sold by his brethren; 2nd, Joseph seated at Pharoah's right hand; 3rd, the Angel appearing in the Burning Bush to Moses.

The fourth is to the memory of Sir Hugh Lyon Playfair, Provost of St. Andrews. Subjects:—1st, Moses raising the Brazen Serpent in the wilderness; 2nd, Aaron and Hur supporting Moses' hands at the battle of Rephidim; 3rd, David anointed in the midst of his Brethren by Samuel.

The fifth is to the memory of Dr. John Cook, minister of the Parish of St. Leonards, afterwards Professor of Divinity in St. Mary's College. Subjects:—1st, Meeting of Soloman and the Queen of Sheba; 2nd, Ezekiel's Dream; 3rd, Daniel in the Den of Lions.

The sixth is to the memory of Dr. John Hunter, for 60 years Professor of Humanity in the United College

and afterwards Principal. Subjects :—1st, The Wise Men offering gifts to the infant Jesus ; 2nd, Jesus disputing with the Doctors in the Temple ; 3rd The, Baptism in the river Jordon.

The seventh is to the memory of Bishop Kennedy, founder of St. Salvators College. Subjects :—1st, Christ in the Judgment Hall ; 2nd, Christ the Resurrection and the Life ; 3rd, On the way to Calvary.

The eighth is to the memory of Dr. Thomas Chalmers, Professor of Moral Philosophy in the United College from 1823 to 1828. Subjects :—1st, Christ raising Lazarus from the dead ; 2nd, The Last Supper ; 3rd, Christ teaching.

The stalls which adorn the north wall were the gift, by bequest, of the late Principal Forbes, whose arms are affixed to the back of the first stall on the east. They are for the use of the Professors.



### THE SACRAMENT TABERNACLE,

at the east end of the north wall, is a very fine specimen of this Pre-Reformation relic, and is almost the only one on the south side of the river Tay. The figures under the sill represent two angels supporting the monstrance, the Host being displayed in the centre. The cornice is adorned with shields charged with the Royal Arms of Scotland on the one side and those of Bishop Kennedy on the other.

The stone inserted in the floor on the south side of the pulpit commemorates Dr. Hugh Spens; Principal of St. Salvators College from 1505 to 1529. He is memorable as President of the Theological Court, that tried and condemned the doctrines of Patrick Hamilton, Scotland's first martyr.<sup>26</sup> Spens erected an altar tomb, evidently for himself, under the westmost window, but little respect has been paid to it. The tomb stone was used for paving part of the outer lobby of the Church in 1759, the Professors of that period being more economic than archæological.<sup>27</sup> The Board of Works removed it to its present position for preservation.

In the south wall have been inserted cenotaphs to the memory of two gallant soldiers, Lieutenant W. D. Playfair, and Major John Cook, V.C., both of whom fell in the service of their country in India; one at the battle of Sobraon in 1846, the other in Afghanistan in 1879. On either side of the entrance door are marble tablets, one to the memory of Dr. Alexander Pitcairn, Principal of St. Mary's College, 1693 to 1698; the other to a student, John Home, who died of consumption while prosecuting his studies at the University in 1754. And on the sill of the Shairp Memorial Window a beautiful brass has been fixed commemorative of George Frederick Fisher, a former student of the United College, who was struck down by disease at the early age of 24, while serving with his regiment in India.

However interesting the windows, cenotaphs, and tablets may be or even the Church itself, they

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26. History of the Church of Scotland. Spotswood. Page 63.

27. Ancient Monuments of St. Andrews. Lyon. Page 6.

all sink into insignificance when compared with the Bishop's own

### T O M B,

inserted in the north wall near the east end and originally within the Chancel.

Erected about the year 1458, this superb monument, probably the finest specimen of mediæval work in Britain, is said to have cost Bishop Kennedy the enormous sum of £10,000 sterling.<sup>28</sup>

Although terribly mutilated it still retains sufficient of its original beauty to convey a faint idea of the dazzling splendour which characterised it when in its complete state.

Tradition asserts that it was greatly mutilated in 1773 through the falling of the stone roof of the Church, but of this there is no evidence. In fact it was described by Crawford in the article under Kennedy (Officers of State) as being in a very dilapidated state fifty years before the date at which the roof was removed. Natural decay accounts to some extent for its present condition, but much of the destruction that has taken place can be traced to vandalism. No care whatever appears to have been taken for its preservation by the guardians of the College until about the middle of the 18th century, and so far as we are aware it is only twice referred to in their records. In the contract with Mr. James Craig for the removal of the Church roof in 1773, it was stipulated that "care must be taken not to injure the monument," and towards the close of the same century a small payment is recorded

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28. Cronicle of Scotland. Lindsay of Pitscottie. Page 168.



THE TOMB.

as having been made to a workman for "oiling and helping the tomb."<sup>29</sup>

To give anything like an adequate description of this work would require the pen of a Ruskin. The magnificence and variety of detail, and the chaste delicacy of execution of its numerous towers, niches, pinnacles, canopies, arches, mimic doors and windows, is almost beyond belief. In the words of Billings, they "appear to have been thrown together in rich yet symmetrical profusion at the will of some beautiful fancy, as if a fairy palace had been suddenly erected out of the elements of feudal castles, of minsters, abbeys, cloisters, and vaults."<sup>30</sup> As we have seen from Buchanan, Bishop Kennedy has been severely censured by some for the lavish expenditure on his tomb, and, had his sole intention in erecting it been to perpetuate his own memory, the strictures would have been perfectly just. But we make bold to assert that such was not the case, and hope to be able to shew that, if such a thought existed in the mind of the pious Prelate when he conceived the idea of erecting it, that thought was subservient to another of a nobler and holier character.

In attempting to give the following imperfect description we do so with some hesitancy, as, so far as we know, no previous attempt has been made, by any of the numerous writers who have taken notice of it, to do more than give a short account of its architectural features, without making any reference to the mysterious symbolic lesson imprinted upon it, due probably to the want of opportunity on the part

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29. MS. Records of the University.

30. Baronial and Ecclesiastical Antiquities, vol. I.

of the writers to give the amount of time and attention necessary to such an investigation.

That the monument is symbolic is beyond all doubt, but whether we have been successful in grasping its real meaning we must leave to the judgment of others.

It has frequently been declared by competent authorities that the sculpture is the work of French artists, and the striking similarity in many of its details to those exhibited in the College Mace (of which later) lends considerable colour to this opinion. But the allegorical lesson points to Bishop Kennedy himself as the architect, and, notwithstanding all that has been said regarding his vanity, we are warranted in believing that, when he planned its erection, he was actuated by no more selfish motive than that of forwarding the reformation of his beloved Church; and, that in conveying his impressions to the stone, and through it to future generations, he did so in the full belief that he was strengthening the foundations of the new school of Christianity, which arose with so much brilliance a century later, and may be said to have run riot under the fiery eloquence of Knox. Although much of its meaning is self-evident, the mutilated condition of the monument renders it impossible to account for several of its very peculiar features; and it is much to be regretted that some of the early archæologists who took notice of it did not leave a more detailed description.

The monument is divided into four distinct divisions or stages, and, if we read the lesson aright, it is intended to symbolise the Journey of the Human Soul to the Realms of Bliss.

The Grave or chamber of death—the first stage, not shown in the illustration—is represented by the Vault in which the remains of the Bishop lie interred under the floor. The chamber, which is crowned by a strong stone arch, measures about eight feet by five, and is entered from the floor of the Church by a flight of steps. The floor has been laid with beautiful tiles, and in the walls at either end is inserted a marble slab having a Passion Cross sculptured on its face. Even this part has not escaped the hands of the destroyer, as we shall see later. There is considerable reason for supposing that the architect intended that the entrance should be thrown open on great or solemn occasions, so as to enable the worshippers near the Altar to obtain a view of the interior, thus reminding them of the uncertainty of life, and that all must die.

The place of Propitiation or Purgatory—the second stage—is represented by a space almost the same size as the Grave, and immediately over it, between the roof of the Vault and the marble slab forming the floor of the third stage. There is no possible way of obtaining access to this space except by forcibly breaking through the solid masonry, the intention evidently being to emphasise the doctrine of the Church, that the Soul could only escape from its torments by the aid of the prayers of the Faithful.

The Obit Mass was symbolised by nine figures, probably of ecclesiastics, attached to the massive marble stone forming the inner wall of the chamber, all kneeling and facing eastward, their hands clasped in the attitude of suppliants. The number was no doubt

intended to indicate the nine Obit Lessons or Masses,<sup>31</sup> and there is every reason for believing that Mass had been performed here for the soul of the Bishop and others, thereby giving a practical and life-like representation to the allegory, the value of which it would be difficult to over estimate.

The marks of the fixings of these figures are very distinctly seen in the illustration.

The Church Militant, or third stage, is the most interesting and instructive of the whole. The design is after that of the Apse of the Church, trigonal; the niches representing the windows, while the groined arched roof appears to have been a miniature of that over the Chancel. Unfortunately the roof has given way, only the terminations of the groins being left and some fragments of the panelling by which the interstices were filled in. These fragments show that they had been very elaborately decorated.

In its fall it appears to have done immense damage to the interior. The whole of the front arches of the niches, along with the pillars on which they were supported, have been carried away, and the bases so much broken and destroyed that it is

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31. In the endowment of an Obit Mass for the souls of Michael Walker, burgess of Ayr, and his wife in 1525, it was stipulated that "the nine lessons and masses of repose" were "in all time coming to be chanted as usual." And in a similar endowment for the souls of Duncan and Richard Pethede, 1449, the *dirige* was to be celebrated "with the nine psalms, nine lessons, and lauds in chant." While for the souls of John Dickson, "who died on the 9th day of September, in the year of our Lord 1513, under the banner of James IV. King of Scotland, in the dreadful battle of Flowdon in England, and Margaret Mason his spouse," *dirige*, nine lessons, and mass of requiem in all time coming was to be chanted. Obit Book of Ayr, pages 41-3.

extremely difficult to conceive what it was like when complete.

It was probably this accident that formed the foundation of the tradition regarding the falling of the roof of the Church.

The figures in the eight niches appear to have represented a like number of the Apostles, indicating them as the foundations on which the Christian Church rests. The first on either side being those of Saints Peter and John, with their usual insignia, the Key and the Cross. The peculiar character of these niches leads to this belief.

The illustration Figure I. represents the first



FIGURE I.

niche on the right, which had been, when complete, of a very elaborate character, the stone slab at the back excepted; it being destitute of any semblance of ornamentation, but having three hinges sculptured on one edge, still quite distinct, and a latch at the other, a fragment of which is noticeable. It appears to have been the intention of the architect to convey an impression of

strength rather than of elegance.

This stone, if our reading is correct, symbolises the door shutting the exit from Purgatory. Just in front of its free edge is an arched opening over which

had been affixed a metal (probably silver), tablet bearing an inscription, and within the opening a beautifully constructed spiral stair consisting of seven steps, representing the seven Sacraments of the Church, through the aid of which the purified spirit passes to its rest in Heaven; entrance being obtained by the waiting Soul so soon as the prayers of the faithful have prevailed with St. Peter to move the door forward.

This we believe to be one of the finest representations of this particular dogma of the Church of Rome ever produced.



FIGURE II.

Figure II. represents the first niche on the left, very different in form and even more elaborately constructed. It is divided into three distinct sections, each division being trigonal, and each having a groined arched roof, the whole being united by the two outer groins carried from the opposite sides of the side divisions to the crown of the arch over the central one.

The right hand division is pierced by a small circular arched doorway, the door of which is thrown back, so as to make it appear a little open. The hinges, which are of an elaborate character, are still very distinct, but there is no trace of any fastening or latch, an indication that they were upon the opposite side, and

that the door could only be opened from within, a striking contrast to that on the other side. A broad flight of seven steps leads up to the door, across the threshold of which is placed another step but having no connection with the stair proper.

This niche is evidently intended to symbolise the Trinity : the Father being represented by the central division which is considerably larger than either of the other two ; the Spirit by the division on the left ; the Son by that on the right, and the doorway the entrance to Heaven through Him. The seven steps again represent the Sacraments of the Church, by the aid of which only Heaven can be reached. The step at the threshold (of which we will take further notice when treating of the College Mace) indicates the life on earth which is necessary to secure an entrance. The first and second steps of this stair are curious, being merely indicated by narrow ledges, and they both rise upward, until they nearly meet at the inner end of the third step. This was probably intended to show that the Sacraments of Baptism and Confirmation are of less importance than that to which they lead, and that they both merge in the Eucharist.

It will be noticed that both of these niches are somewhat higher than the other six, and are connected with the lower level by means of three broad steps, extending along their whole width ; the significance of which we have been unable to discover, unless they are in imitation of the steps usually in front of the Altar.

The pillars on either side are composed of clusters of circular shafts joined together by large hollow mouldings, into which have been inserted thirty niches: fifteen in each pillar, all similar in

design, having neat moulded bases and delicately carved capitals. The figures by which these niches were occupied probably represented Saints, demonstrating the doctrine that the Church is continually under their protection and care.

The inscription on the centre panel at the back has never been clearly decyphered, although every effort has been made to do so, and translations of it have appeared in several publications; but it is to be feared that its real meaning will remain hid. Almost the only part which can be made out is the date, A.D. MCCCCL—, and even this is not absolutely certain.

The House of many Mansions, the fourth and final stage, has suffered the greatest amount of damage. Only a part of it has been left, and even the little that remains has been so mutilated that it is difficult to comprehend its meaning. Over 400 windows or openings are distinctly traceable in the part left, many of them small, some of them not over an inch in height, but all of elaborate and chaste design. The mouldings and tracery have been executed with so much delicacy and skill that we find it difficult to believe that they are the work of a human sculptor. Along what may be termed the base of this part were three rows of these windows, all highly decorated. The first and second row contained fifty-six, each window being of five lights, the mullions very little larger than an ordinary match. The third row, which has wholly disappeared, consisted of fourteen narrow lancets.

There is a world of meaning in this part if we could only read its lesson. The second large window from the base on either side of the centre is double,

the inner one being three inches back from the face of the outer one. The mouldings and tracery have been the same in both, and both are cut in the same stone. At the sill of the outer window is a balcony or pulpit, and on either side a niche. The second window over these has also a niche on either side. The total number of niches in this part is forty-one, of which five are large and had evidently been occupied by figures representing the Saviour and the remaining four Apostles, completing the Apostolic number. In its mutilated state it appears as if there were seven large niches, but the lower spaces, where there are two in line, are not niches. These, when complete, were similar to the projecting part at the centre. Each contained thirty windows, all of which have been broken and destroyed. The niches over the pillars are slightly larger than any of the others, and have each two small niches inserted at the top of their outer mouldings. The canopies are formed of delicately moulded tapering spires, pierced with small Gothic openings, and terminating in elaborately carved finials in which are second niches about fifteen inches in height.

The central niche, occupied by the jewel-crowned image of St. Salvator, appears to have had within it a number of very delicately executed traceried windows, every one of which has all but disappeared, apparently owing to natural decay. This niche seems to have been made of a different kind of stone from the rest of the monument. The niches to right and left have also been adorned with similar windows, and, in addition, each has four small niches inserted near its centre.

Over the three upper niches were placed the

symbols of the Passion, the Cross over the central one, the Pillar and Spear over those to right and left. The top of the Monument probably terminated in the form of a pediment, similar to the top of the Mace. Fourteen small niches are inserted in the base, one between each alternate window of those forming the lower row.

The total number of figures or statues, as far as can be made out in the part left, was eighty-eight; seventy-nine in niches, and nine attached to the marble stone over the floor. According to Lindsay of Pitscottie they were all of silver, but this statement may well be doubted. The whole of the figures appear to have been removed at the time of the Reformation, and in all probability by the Principal of the College, William Cranston, a man who was certainly not a reformer, unless in the sense in which the name is sometimes used—a destroyer. He appears to have spoiled the College of every vestige of its moveable property, or, according to his successor in office, he “dilapidated” £10,000 worth of its common goods.<sup>32</sup>

Since then the Monument has suffered a good deal from vandalism as well as from accident, and there is considerable grounds for believing that the total destruction of the upper part was due to the presence on it of the Cross; the antipathy of the reformers to this symbol being sufficient to account for its removal. The vault was twice opened during the last century, once under the direction of Dr. Robert Chambers in 1842, when it was found that the floor had been torn up and broken, and the bones of the Bishop scattered among the debris. The remains

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32. Report of Universities Commission, 1826, page 196.

were carefully collected, and, after a cast had been taken of the skull—now preserved in the University Museum—they were put into a wooden box and returned to the vault, and the opening again built up. The Tomb was again opened when the Church underwent restoration in 1860, and on this occasion the vault was thoroughly cleaned out, the relics incased in an oak coffin, and reinterred with some ceremony in presence of the members of the College.

### THE COLLEGE MACE,

like the Monument, is divided into four stages. The meaning of its lesson is much easier grasped, from the fact that all its figures except three have been preserved. Various readings have been given of the symbolic lesson contained in the story of its four knobs, but none of them, we think, gives its real meaning.

The head is very elaborately designed, and takes the form of an open shrine; in the centre of which is a figure of the Saviour after His ascension, standing on a ball representing the Earth displaying his wounds, except those in his feet, which are covered by his mantle. The shrine is hexagonal in form, and on three of its sides are angels holding the symbols of the Passion, the Pillar, the Cross, and the Spear. Under each of these is a figure of the Devil chained in front of a barred portcullis, each figure is armed with a shield and scourge, but which, from his position, he is powerless to use, evidently intended to show the triumph of the Saviour's death, that he has rendered the Arch-enemy of mankind harmless. On the other three sides are figures representing a king with his crown and sceptre, a bishop with his mitre and



THE COLLEGE MACE.

pastoral staff, and a trafficking merchant carrying a wallet suspended from a girdle on one side, and a bundle slung over his shoulder on the other, representing his merchandise. These typify the common brotherhood of the human family in the ancient "Three Estates," Nobles, Clergy, and Commons, and emphasize the fact that the Saviour died for all men.

The battlemented towers which project over the fiends are now empty, the figures having been lost. It is consequently impossible to say with any certainty what they were, but it is not improbable that they represented spirits—the souls of the representatives of the "Three Estates"—making their way to Heaven through the aid of the Sacraments of the Church, typified in the seven steps connecting the towers to the top of the shrine. The Lions at the base are probably intended to indicate the Lion of the tribe of Judah, as described by Jacob when blessing his sons (crouching).

Figure I. represents the knop nearest to the



FIGURE I.

shrine. It is constructed somewhat on the same principle, but is of much smaller dimensions. The angles are decorated by buttresses, and on each of its six sides is a small projecting pulpit, but at different heights. The three lower ones, which have very elaborate canopies, are occupied by figures, probably students, holding open books before them as if reading.

The other three are filled by winged images or angels, holding in their hands the

symbols of the talents. One has a small parcel in its left hand, the right being empty—the talent in a napkin. The other two hold aloft orbs or balls, one in each hand, the difference in the number of the talents being shown by the size of the orbs; those held up by the one being only about half the size of its neighbours; the profitable talents having gained their respective values by use.

Figure II. represents the next knop, similarly constructed, but having pulpits upon three of its sides



FIGURE II.

only. These are all empty, probably intended to illustrate the unprofitable talent—ornate but useless.

Figure III. represents the last knop. It is similar in construction to figure I., but much less ornate. The three lower pulpits are occupied by lecturers or preachers, each having a scroll spread out before him, the right hand being raised as if enforcing the lesson. The figures in the upper



FIGURE III.

pulpits are turned inwards, looking towards the Saviour, the hands folded in prayer or watchful adoration.

These figures are evidently intended to symbolise the profitable talents as represented in the service of the Church; a life wholly devoted to the Saviour. It is this

life we think which is indicated by the barrier placed over the Sacraments at the threshold of the door, in the right hand division of the triune niche in the Monument, and nothing finer could have been devised for the purpose.

The staff between the knops is beautifully chaste. The decoration consists of spiral bands continued throughout its whole length, with the letters J. K. linked together by a cord and tassels, surmounted by a crown and columbine flowers, sixteen times repeated.



FIGURE IV.,

the termination, is formed by eight leaves, on four of

which rest lions couchant, similar to those at the base of the shrine.

On a circular band inserted between the staff and its termination is the following inscription :—" Johne Maiel, goldsmehe and verlete off chamer til ye Lord ye Dalfyne, hes made yis masse in ye toune of Paris ye zer of our Lord MCCCCLXI."

Tradition, the foundation on which the historian of St. Andrews has built a large part of the historical edifice, states that this Mace, along with five others, was discovered in the Bishop's tomb about 1683;<sup>33</sup> having been concealed there at some troublous period in the history of the country. There is, however, little, if any, truth in the statement. Recent investigation into the history of the Maces has made it pretty clear that, if they had ever been concealed there, it must have been for only a very short period; while half the tradition, the part relating to their number and disposal, is without foundation altogether.

In the records of the University the Maces are frequently mentioned, and from these and other sources their history is not so very uncertain. The "beddell wands" are mentioned in a list of Vestments and Jewels belonging to St. Salvator's College under date 1461, and again in 1552.<sup>34</sup> Some time after they were placed in the Castle of St. Andrews for safety. The date is not known, but it must have been prior to the time of the Reformation, as a large number of the "common goods of the College," destroyed by the Principal, were deposited with them. That they were in use in Archbishop Spotswood's time (1615 to 1639)

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33. History of St. Andrews. Lyon, 1838. Page 178.

34. The Maces of Scotland. Brook. Page 34.

is certain, from the fact that one of the shields on the Mace of the Faculty of Arts is charged with his arms. In 1651 they were taken to Dunnottar Castle, and committed to the care of Ogilvy, the governor.<sup>35</sup> They are mentioned in Archbishop Sharp's Household Book, under date 1666,<sup>36</sup> and, in the official notice of that murdered Prelate's funeral, it is stated that the Rector of the University was "ushered by the three macers."<sup>37</sup> The Mace of St. Salvator's College was repaired at the common expense of the College by Principal Skene in 1685, as recorded on a medal attached to it. In 1707 the University decreed that half-a-crown be the minimum paid for the Maces carried at funerals, and in 1737 the same body gave orders that, in the absence of the Rector, they were to be laid up in the Library. The year following it was decided that the Maces were only to be carried at the funerals of members of the University, and "that the Archbeadle and other macers shall attend their master at such funerals without the expectation of drink-money on the part of the defunct."<sup>38</sup>

The most noteworthy feature of these Monuments of Bishop Kennedy, is the total absence of any trace of the Virgin, or anything to indicate even a recognition of the Mariolatry, on which the Roman Church relied so much prior to its overthrow in 1560.

If our reading of the lessons conveyed by these Monuments is correct, it is certain that Bishop Kennedy was a convert—at least in part—to the

35. The Maces of Scotland. Brook. Page 36.

36. Guide Book to St. Andrews. Hay Fleming. Page 109.

37. History of St. Andrews. Lyon. Vol. 2, page 396.

38. The Maces of Scotland. Brook. Page 39.

doctrines of the "New Religion," and herein is to be found the secret of his great success. That the opinions of Resby and Crawar were either dead or forgotten we cannot believe, or that the examples of their cruel deaths had the effect of silencing their disciples. The whole history of the Reformation movement is directly opposed to such a supposition. When the Archbishop's servant told him that the reek of Patrick Hamilton infected all on whom it blew, he was only stating what might have been said with equal truth of almost every execution for heresy, wherever carried out.

While the Reformers of 1560 denied altogether the existence of Purgatory, and branded its conception as a device of the rapacious clergy or monks in order to increase their wealth, by trading on the credulity of their ignorant followers, Kennedy retained it, but stripped it of its terrors by showing a way of escape from its torments by means of a holy life. The possibility of the soul obtaining an entrance to Heaven without having to undergo long years of purification—as represented in the triune niche—if accepted by the clergy as part of their creed, must have had a very great effect upon them for good. However guarded and hedged about the way might be, the prize was worth striving for; and the example shown them by the Bishop himself must have given a powerful impulse to the new order, the more so that the Church retained all its former powers. By whichever door the entrance was obtained—whether directly through the death of the Saviour, or indirectly through the intercessory prayers of the Church—neither entrance could be approached except by the aid of the